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ABSTRACT

Two papers are presented that examine the barriers to women in academic decision making and identify a variety of effective strategies for improving the status of women in higher education administration. "Strategies for Advancing Women in Higher Education Administration," by Garry D. Hays, proposes that commitment to increasing the number of women in administrative positions should be demonstrated by example and through operating procedures. Affirmative hiring goals, search procedures, communication, and development programs are discussed. Formal and informal ways that institutions can help women acquire experiences that prepare them for higher level positions are outlined, and suggestions that can assist women candidates as they seek higher level positions are offered. "Career Development Women in Academic Administration: The Role of Training," by Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Margaret J. Wheatley, examines training programs as a strategy for advancing women in higher education administration and as a context of what can be learned about career issues of women and changing career structures for administrators. Conclusions are based on discussion with the directors of five Carnegie-sponsored training programs, 180 questionnaires returned by program participants, 30 personal interviews with program participants, interviews with 25 key senior administrators from campuses around the country, a literature review, and conversations with directors of programs concerned with improving the status of women. (SW)

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WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

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project on the status and education of **women**

Women in Higher Education Administration

Despite federal prohibitions of sex discrimination the status of women in higher education administration has not significantly improved during the past five years. Most women occupy middle and low-level posts which almost never lead to top academic position on campus. Efforts to increase the number of women administrators have been hampered by factors including: institutional financial problems, the slow-down in enrollment, and a critical lack of information about how to combat historic sex discrimination in employment.

The following two papers are reprinted here to help remedy the latter problem and to assist institutions in their efforts to recruit and advance women to key posts. Both papers examine the barriers to women in academic decision-making and identify a variety of effective strategies for improving the status of women in higher education administration.

Strategies for Advancing Women in Higher Education Administration*

Garry D. Hays
Chancellor, Minnesota State University System

While I do not claim any special academic expertise on this morning's topic, it is one about which I have given considerable thought. I am pleased to be here to share with you some observations based on that thought and on experience in the university system in which I work.

COMMITMENT

As self-evident—even redundant—as it might seem, fundamental to increasing the number of women in administrative positions is an active commitment by the governing board and the chief executive officer. A passive expectation, occasional admonitions, publication of affirmative action policies, or assertions on vacancy announcements about being an equal opportunity employer are insufficient.

Rather, commitment must be demonstrated in two fundamental ways: by example and through operating procedures. A predominantly male board, which has hired only male presidents, is not in a strong position to encourage its administrators to appoint women. Moreover, the commitment of a chief executive officer who makes predominantly male appointments and who continues to utilize traditional search procedures will be understandably suspect; the softness of such so-called commitment is inevitably communicated to others in the institution or system.

As important as example is, however, in communicating

(Continued on page 2)

*Most of the content of this paper was first presented to the annual meeting of the American Association on Higher Education, March, 1978; this version was presented to the Bryn Mawr/HERS Summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration, July, 1978.

Career Development Women in Academic Administration: The Role of Training **

By Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Margaret J. Wheatley

Our major objective was two fold: to examine training programs as a strategy for advancing women in higher education administration and to place this in the context of what we could learn about career issues of women and changing career structures for administrators. Our conclusions are based on extensive discussion with the directors of 5 Carnegie-sponsored training programs, 180 questionnaires returned by program participants, 30 personal interviews with program participants, additional interviews with 25 key senior administrators from campuses around the country, review of available literature, and conversations with directors of other kinds of programs concerned with improving the status of women.

THE VALUE OF TRAINING

First, we find that the role and value of training programs clearly varies with the target population that attends. The most effective programs in terms of providing the largest number of benefits and the biggest boost to careers seem to be those that are aimed at two very different populations:

- senior women, carefully selected, benefit from an extra amount of prestige and connection with prestigious individuals, along with management training suitable for top officials; and
- entering women benefit from internships as a way to gain job experience.

(Continued on page 4)

**Summary of Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

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STRATEGIES *(from page 1)*

an expectation, a commitment to advancing women into administrative positions must be made operational. A place to begin is with a systematic approach to setting goals for hiring. Early in the movement for equal opportunity great emphasis was placed on affirmative action policies which usually included a statement of commitment, requirements that search committees be representative of women and minorities in the institution, and that vacancy notices be published in publications likely to reach a wide audience. Thus, beautifully worded policies were drafted, large sums of money were spent in placing advertisements, and institutions continued to make predominantly male appointments to administrative positions. Initially, few evaluated the effectiveness of the publications in actually producing more women applicants, and search committees–with a few women and minorities on them–continued to operate pretty much in the same manner; they were now simply able to demonstate, upon offering the names of three white males to the appointing administrator, that it had "X" number of women applicants and had placed "Y" number of advertisements in so-called affirmative action publications. The total number of women in the institution may have increased somewhat, but not in each department or administrative unit and not in any reasonable relationship to the number of women in the academic labor market.

AFFIRMATIVE HIRING GOALS

I do not mean to suggest that statements of policy were not and are not needed or that the communication of vacancies did not need to be broader. These were necessary early steps, but they are not sufficient. In addition to statements of policy and intent, institutions need to establish, by department and by operating unit within the administration, goals–by occupational level–for affirmative hiring. For example, in our system the staffing of each unit is analyzed in seven occupational categories:

- executive, administrative, or managerial
- faculty
- professional non-faculty
- clerical/secretarial
- technical/para-professional
- skilled crafts
- service and maintenance

Current staffing patterns are then viewed in comparison to the number of vacancies and/or additions–known or anticipated–for the coming year and in relation to the market availability in each category. Each president then submits to my office affirmative employment goals for each unit and for each category.

This approach, in our judgment, has several advantages over the more generalized affirmative action intent.

- It emphasizes the need to appoint women in all occupational categories and in all units or departments. For example, an institution cannot satisfy an affirmative action goal by simply appointing female faculty in departments or administrative units that historically have been more open to women, thus letting other units or departments continue to appoint males.
- It focuses attention on areas badly in need of affirmative employment.
- It takes into consideration market availability, thus permitting more rational goal setting, including expectation of higher goals in those areas where the number of women in the pool is greater.

To create a better and more specific procedure for identifying goals will not produce any better results than the more general statements of affirmative action unless they are taken seriously. Thus, consideration of the quality of work done in making the analysis and in establishing goals, and of the quality of the effort in achieving those goals, should be a part of the performance evaluation of supervisors and ultimately, of chief executive officers of universities and systems.

This is, I believe, an important part of any effort to enhance equal opportunity for women. It does not mean that one creates an environment of fear, nor does it imply that failure to meet a goal necessarily leads to punishment. We know that not all goals will be met. Yet, the top level administrator has a very real stake in assuring that subordinates take the process seriously, that a more rational and systematic procedure is developed, and that a quality effort is made.

SEARCH PROCEDURES

If goals are to be met, changes in the search process are also required.

First, control of the search process must be reclaimed by the appointing authority. I remain skeptical that–despite so-called affirmative advertising and more broadly representative search committees–much progress will be made in appointing women to administrative positions as long as search committees are permitted to offer up three to five names from which the president or the board–in the case of presidential appointments–must choose. In the case of two high level administrative appointments in our system, neither woman would have been selected had the traditional role of a search committee been permitted. In one case the campus search committee did not even recommend that the woman candidate be interviewed. She was interviewed only after my office insisted that she must be. After the interviews, she was the top choice not only of the president but of all groups participating in the process. In the other case, the woman was not the top choice of the committee and, had the president confined himself to the usual practice of going along with the committee ranking, another male appointment would have been made in that university as well. Thus, chief executives who are serious about enhancing opportunities for women in administrative positions may use committees in an advisory role, but must make clear that the final choice is hers or his. In brief, that which is expected from advisory committees has changed; indeed, the term search committee should not be used because of its historical connotation. Rather than ranking candidates or making a recommendation, committee members should be expected to provide individual evaluations of a candidate's competencies in relation to those required for the particular job. I grant that this reclamation of executive authority is difficult in the face of tradition. We have been aided by the fact that we have a collective bargaining agreement with a strong managerial rights clause; I do not mean to oversimplify the task where such does not exist.

A second change in the traditional search that is helpful in attracting, evaluating, and appointing women candidates is to describe a position more in terms of competencies required and less in terms of traditional educational experience and training. For example, an announcement of an academic vice presidential vacancy that specifies dean-level experience as one of the desirable qualifications severely limits the number of women who will apply. However, to describe the competencies desired in an academic vice president not only increases the possibility for more women applicants but also increases the likelihood that more of the women applicants will be competitive in the screening process. Of three recent appointments in the Minnesota State University System–one president and two academic vice presidents–the "highest" position previously held was associate dean; yet all three had the ability and competence to compete successfully for the positions.

COMMUNICATION

Equally important, the nature of the search itself requires modification. Women quickly found that an advertisement in *Ms.* did not mean that their applications would be taken

any more seriously. The fact that women applicants were frequently used to make affirmative action reports look good caused many not to apply. There are several aspects of the search which can be changed to increase the number of women candidates.

The first is for institutions to communicate to women by practice, rather than rhetoric, that opportunities are available; in brief, by appointing women to administrative positions at all levels and in all units. Until there is evidence of such commitment, the customary way of getting applicants will need to be supplemented. Initially, one can use what might be called the "old girls network"; that is, one can learn of possible candidates in the same way the "old boys" did for years–by contacting acquaintances around the country who are committed to increasing the number of women administrators and who are in positions that permit them to know likely candidates.

After obtaining names, we have had some success in visiting prospective candidates very early in the search. There are a number of advantages that have made this worthwhile.

- It provides an opportunity for the individual to have a better understanding of the position, the nature of the institution, and the competencies being sought before deciding whether she wants to become a candidate. A visit also indicates to more prospective candidates a serious effort to seek women candidates, more so than simply sending a letter saying she has been nominated.
- The conversation gives us some basis to assess a particular individual and, thus, provides more knowledge during the early screening process than is possible from credentials alone–particularly in the case of a candidate who does not have experience traditionally expected for a given position.
- Moreover, even if a particular individual is not interested in the position–or the institution–at the moment, or even if she is not offered that particular appointment, personal contact has been established which may lead to another position in our system. Twice candidates for presidencies in our system have later been appointed to academic vice presidencies.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

However, one characteristic of the "old boys network" is that the names of the same old boys get referred. That network is as closed to men who are not in the "club" and who do not make a career of walking the corridors of national conferences as it is to women. Thus, it is important to develop more systematic procedures and networks so that women who have the interest and ability, but who are not known by someone in a position to make nominations and referrals, have an equal opportunity to have their names circulated. There is a need for a national base–a national network–that is known by, and open and accessible to, all who are interested. In brief, there is a need for services such as those of the ACE National Identification Program and the HERS program.

To provide a regional underpinning for these kinds of programs, it is desirable for institutions and systems to develop their own internal communications, programs, and efforts. I will simply mention a few things which we have found helpful.

To enhance communications and to minimize duplication of effort, we have established a *vita* bank in my office for the seven universities in the system. After a search is completed in a university, the names and resumes of women and minority candidates are forwarded to my office and are made available when administrative vacancies occur in other universities. We are also initiating a procedure to include names of women faculty in our system who are potential administrators but who have not been candidates, and names of women administrators in lower or middle level positions who are potential candidates for more responsible positions.

I would offer a cautionary note, however, about the use–and misuse– of *vita* banks. I know of cases where women did not know their names had been submitted but who received letters saying, "Thank you for permitting us to consider your candidacy; however, we regret to inform you that you are not among those remaining in consideration." Thus, names of possible candidates should not be referred indiscriminately.

Beyond these efforts at communication, institutions need to establish more formal and informal ways of assisting women to acquire experiences which prepare them for higher level positions and then to promote them.

- A place to start is with a review of traditional educational and experiential requirements for certain positions. Many women are excluded from entry into lower and middle level administrative positions because of inflated, artificial requirements. The Ph.D.–or even a Master's degree–is not needed for every position in educational administration. In our office we have three women in middle management positions who started in secretarial positions; three others have moved into middle level management from entry level staff positions.
- In a period of budget cuts in many areas, we are increasing the amount spent for training and professional development of women employees, although these efforts remain too modest.
- Lack of certain kinds of experience can be compensated for by on-the-job training and seminars in specific areas.
- The appointment of women as Acting Deans has provided good administrative training and affords the woman faculty member an opportunity to see if she wants an administrative career. In two cases recently in our system, women Acting Deans have been appointed Deans.
- Involvement of women faculty in *ad hoc* administrative assignments can also permit them to test their interest, broaden their understanding of university administration, and acquire experience.
- Support systems for new women administrators need to be established. These can provide opportunity for discussion of educational issues as well as mutual support for participants.

CONCLUSION

Finally, in closing let me simply mention some things which can assist women candidates as they seek higher level positions.

- Read everything that comes into or goes out of your present office and learn as much as possible about other areas of the college or university–about how things work. Knowledge is still power.
- Acquire a thorough understanding of the budget process. It is a myth that male administrators understand budgets; most do not. A candidate who, in this era, can demonstrate a grasp of budgetary concepts will have an advantage.
- In your present position, seek feed-back and critical evaluation. Some male supervisors who are committed to the advancement of women and who have appointed women, tend to be too protective, too concerned about not discouraging women employees. There results another kind of sexism–a failure to provide the kind of constructive but critical evaluation needed for improvement. If you are in this kind of situation, seek out such evaluation.
- Spend time in careful analysis of where you are

now, where you want to be, and the necessary steps in between:

—What are your skills?
—What do you need to work on?
—How should you go about it?

- Make and use contacts.
- Be open to different options, with regard to kind of institution and type of position. Too frequently women foreclose opportunity for advancement by thinking only in terms of the kind of institution in which they are currently employed.
- When applying for a position in another institution, know the institution and develop your resume in a manner that most relevantly reveals your knowledge and experience. Instead of simply listing positions held, describe experiences from which you gained knowledge

Finally, I return to commitment by top level administrators. Communication networks can be established, search procedures changed, and professional development programs implemented. Only, however, when those in positions of authority effectively make these changes will the number of women in administrative positions significantly increase.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT *(from page 1)*

To single out these two populations for special mention says nothing about the *quality* of the training program itself; all of the programs we investigated appear to be high in quality and generally valued by participants. But it is for these two populations that extra-institutional training programs seem to provide the largest number of benefits. Thus, we conclude that training programs can function best as either entry mechanisms for fairly low level positions or as prestige-conferring continuing education efforts for people who are already selected for rather senior positions. In other cases, training appears to be too diffuse and too unrelated to either job prospects or institutional selection mechanisms to be effective.

In examining descriptions of the significant events and people in the careers of over 100 women and a dozen senior male administrators, a remarkably similar composite picture emerged of how careers are most forcefully assisted, or blocked. This picture is familiar; it emerges in Kanter's study of the corporation as well as in numerous other reports of career development.

Women must have a combination of formal and informal supports in order to advance. Formally, they need to be in jobs with opportunity that naturally lead them to develop increased skills, that provide ample learning possibilities and that force them to stretch to meet new challenges, readying them to seize more opportunity when it comes their way. They develop best, as do men, when their positions are empowering, giving them the chance to create or innovate, to become visible and recognized, and to demonstrate their capacity to solve problems critical to the institution. Informal relationships are also important: personal support systems close to home (as opposed to distant networks), more senior people willing to sponsor or endorse them, colleague acceptance, connections that give them access to information or to the chance to trade favors.

Competence, of course, also is critical. But for most of the administrators to whom we spoke, formal education or training merely gives people access to the positions which allow them to develop competence. Specialized technical skills can be quickly learned outside the institution. It is inside the institution itself, and inside the job, that most administrators learn what they actually need to do the job.

At best, training programs provide a spurt of energy, a booster rocket propelling one to a new position. But the long-term effects on careers and the factors that determine career success come not from training, but from the jobs people hold. Training programs have no influence over job characteristics of its participants, and even when, in requesting institutional sponsorship, they attempt to ascertain the next step in a participant's career, it cannot by itself change the opportunity structure for individuals. Training is an extrainstitutional response to a clearly institutional problem. As such, its impact is badly circumscribed.

On the other hand, participants clearly derive benefits. We wish to recommend, therefore, that one efficient way to proceed in the future might be to take specific elements that people find valuable and build projects around these, rather than trying to combine them in training programs. The specific functions they provide could be built into less elaborate and less costly programs that could use successful elements of training programs but find ways to link them more closely to institutional issues on a local and decentralized bases. For example:

- If *networks* and *recognition mechanisms* are important, then projects such as the ACE National Identification Project which work on making connections in specific geographical areas between talented women and senior male officials can be further developed. (We found very little network formation among participants of the 5 programs we studied.)
- If *on-the-job training* is important, then colleges and universities can be encouraged through funding prospects to develop more explicit institutional or regional management development programs that provide their own more explicit and formal learning mechanisms on campus.
- If the acquisition of *specific skills* and *technical competence* is important, then colleges and universities can be encouraged to develop solid courses on educational management, perhaps available to their own employees, and training institutes can be encouraged to translate diffuse programs (such as those for women) to specific skills-based programs, such as shorter courses in technical areas of planning, budgeting, or computer technology.
- If *changes in women's self-image* which enlarge the applicant pool for administrative positions are important, then bringing together women within an institution or a geographic area who could reinforce each other's aspirations and teach each other what they are learning from their institutions might be a way to distribute this benefit of training more widely on a national basis. National communication channels, such as offered by Bernice Sandler's Project on the Status of Women, Project HERS, professional associations of women deans or other administrators, or national newsletters could be utilized effectively by local self-development groups.
- If *"demystification"* (realizing that the material is not so hard to learn after all) is important, then a number of self-teaching guides can be proposed, such as the publication of books, handbooks, and training manuals for shorter courses like those given in the National Training Program but available to large numbers of women, with or without instructors. Such books or training manuals would also be valuable to men, and they could run the gamut from case studies of university administrative problems to such items as "Budgets Made Simple."

Some of these suggestions reflect changes in the analysis of the problem of women's advancement that have taken place since many of the training programs reviewed here were

developed. It was perhaps important several years ago to take women alone in special programs designed for them as women, that would consider their issues as women, as well as the acquisition of technical skills needed for particular jobs. Several years ago it was perhaps considered more important than it is by analysts today that women receive emotional support, that their aspirations be boosted, and that their self-images be directed toward administrative careers. Today it is less clear that sex-segregated programs still have a place. The skills which many women are seeking to acquire are not different, in many cases, from those needed by men in administrative positions, and while women's networks are extremely important, it is also important that women become connected to the men who are still the primary decision makers.

It seems less important today to boost women's aspirations than to find ways to feed into the pipeline and move up the ranks those women who have already discovered their ambitions. So we are led away from the question of individual talent development in a vacuum to the question of how to open institutional channels that block or slow down the progress of women.

ADMINISTRATIVE CAREER ROUTES: WHAT'S ON THE HORIZON

From our interviews and discussions, we can identify three different tracks or job families in academic administration in the future, each requiring somewhat different skills and credentials.

First, the traditional source of supply of administrators—the faculty—cannot be ignored, although perhaps its role may be different in the future. The least professionalized of administrative services, such as student personnnel administration, may be moving back into the hands of the faculty at the same time that more technical functions, such as those involving finance or law, are moving into the hands of specialists. However, faculty status, particularly tenure and a scholarly reputation, are still important entry credentials for many top ranking jobs. These are so important that faculty members without administrative abilities continue to be promoted into high ranking positions, where they are aided by a administratively proficient support staff. Younger faculty members seeking a career in administration, can be very frustrated to learn that faculty jobs provide absolutely no preparation for administrative positions, yet scholarly achievement as a faculty member may be essential in eligibility for these positions.

The second career track is that of the technical specialist or expert. In response to increasingly technical demands in some areas of academic administration, there are a growing number of very specialized "middle management" jobs, concerned with law and government regulations, with finance and budget, with computer forecasting and computer controls, and with labor relations. These jobs tend to be open to people regardless of faculty status; indeed, faculty members cannot claim eligibility for such positions unless they demonstrate technical knowledge. Some analysts predict that universities will tend to hire from the outside for these positions. Outside institutions not only have greater experience in working with these issues; they are also themselves often the source of regulatory or financial pressures.

These jobs can come to constitute the professional "managerial class" in colleges and universities, doing work that will be indistinguishable from the work performed by their counterparts in corporations or government. Technical credentials and technical experiences will play a major role in people's eligibility for these jobs. In some cases, the positions will be high ranking, such as vice president of finance or dean of a school of business or public administration, but in many cases, they may remain buried technocratic enclaves, remaining subservient to traditional administrators from the faculty who lack the technical skills but have the credibility to be the visible leaders. It is striking that many of the leaders of educational institutions to whom we spoke did not *want* to know the technical content of these new managerial jobs themselves; they felt they could leave that to the "experts." Experts can find themselves stuck, (as women did for years in functions such as admissions offices and registrar offices,) in lower level jobs that do not prepare them for career progress. Management practices and career development programs of institutions will determine whether experts get buried in narrow technical jobs where they have little chance to advance or participate in overall institutional policy, or whether they can develop in more generalized directions.

The route into the higher echelon technical middle management jobs may be through external institutions, both inside and outside of the academy. It seems unlikely at the moment that such people will rise through the ranks without external credentials. On the other hand, the lower level technical jobs can be filled by a wider range of people who need to show the equivalent of a certificate of competence in the particular area, whether it is computers or student personnel services.

The third administrative career route is to top leadership and here, generalizations about paths and tracks are more difficult. Presidents seem to be in a class by themselves. They come from both inside and outside, from the academy and other segments of society, and with or without specialized technical competence such as Clark Kerr's labor relations expertise. What would make one eligible to be the head of one institution may be a disqualifying factor for another; there seems to be a tendency for colleges and universities to "balance" their leadership. If there is a prominent scholar as president or vice president, the other positions may be filled by someone with professional or managerial qualifications. Of the presidents to whom we spoke or who were interviewed by co-researchers, there were wide differences in backgrounds and preparation. Some had been deans elsewhere or even in their current institution, but a large number had had little to do with universities or with academic administration in the past, even though they possessed advanced degrees.

If anything, the central qualification for a president (and, in many cases for deans as well) seems to be a quality we may term "moral suasion." This stands in striking contrast to the technical competence required in middle management jobs. Here it is skills as a political actor that count. In any of the boundary roles in a college or university—roles that must mediate between environments, constituencies, and factions—the skills that seem important are the ability to: bring people together; give bad news without provoking too much resentment; salesmanship; negotiation; understanding the faculty and how to deal with them; and tactics as a "supreme mediator."

While such leadership qualities have always been important and can be found in the stories of people who rise to the top, changing pressures on colleges and universities will make them even more important in the future. The trust and credibility factors, as Kanter has noted in her studies of corporate management, take on even more importance in times of uncertainty or times in which automatic obedience to moral authority is undermined. A different kind of leadership is also required when the old personalized patronage systems are no longer in operation. With more aspects of university governance subject to government regulation and formal policies and procedures, persuasion may have to be more important than trading favors or doling out financial rewards as a means of insuring cooperation.

In this regard, it is striking to note the kinds of things that the top administrators interviewed by our "co-researchers" found satisfying in their jobs. A few of them mentioned formulating policy, but this often relied on development of new programs, something that was increasingly rare. In general the list of things they found most satisfying seemed to be negative: averting disaster, saving blood, retaining funding

levels, rescuing the system from financial disaster, avoiding cutbacks, and resolving hard differences constructively. To put these on positive terms, political skills are important. The politics of administration take experience to develop. They require connections with appropriate people in the system, knowledge of the ins and outs of an organization and how it works, credibility with constituencies (which in part is a matter of credentials or social similarity but may also need to be earned), and such qualities of personal presentation as forcefulness, readiness to decisions, and willingness to take risks. These qualities, in turn, are those which themselves require experience and political support to develop.

HAS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION HELPED WOMEN?

What role has affirmative action played to date, according to respondents among the program participants and the key administrators interviewed? Affirmative action has established defined procedures and new hiring patterns, all of which are designed to make hiring more equitable. Hiring is now more public, defined, and announced. There are open searches instead of automatic promotion. There is more concern with the skills needed, and these skills tend to be defined in searches. Personnel policies tend to be written, and there are defined titles and conditions of employment.

These achievements are likely to increase the number of women in middle management technical jobs more than anywhere else, because of the greater ease of translating these positions into skill terms. Faculty credentials and the earning of tenure take years to develop, and judgements still tend to be subjective. Qualities of "moral suasion" and political savvy needed for top leadership tend to also rest on the undefinable, such as trust (which gives an edge to those with similar backgrounds to search committees) or years of experience in jobs that allow one to pull off risks and thus establish a track record as a politically wise leader.

Affirmative action procedures by themselves, therefore, are an important first step but do not necessarily solve the problems of equitable access to administrative positions. While many colleges and universities have been writing better job descriptions and defining necessary skills, there has been little clarification of career paths which tell people in one job how to become eligible for another. In fact, open searches and loss of automatic promotion is a mixed blessing. While it permits a larger population of people to become eligible for jobs and to signify their interest, it also means that the notion of career growth through a sequence of developmental activities can be lost if institutions do not pay explicit attention to the development of their managerial talent.

INSTITUTION-BASED PROJECTS FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT: A ROLE FOR FOUNDATIONS

The question is: how to provide opportunity and power for women inside institutions. Opportunity involves eligibility for advancement via the acquisition of skills, the chance to learn and demonstrate new skills, and the existence of bridging positions that help one move from the limits of the job definition of position A to the enlarged range of position B. Power involves the acquisition of credibility by having the chance to innovate, pull off a risk, make a visible and measurable contribution, solve or contribute to the solution of oppressing institutional problems, and to be connected and backed up by more senior people in the organization, to increase the set of exchange relations and mutual obligations with peers, and to have the chance to develop the talent of more junior people. We think that it is possible to affect opportunity and power inside institutions without necessarily changing the overall formal structure of the institution first, and we wish to suggest a strategy.

Funding can be provided for institutional projects that must meet the following criteria:

- A balanced number of men and women, of faculty and administrators, and of junior and senior personnel.
- Explicit training of all members of the project team in those organizational, financial, or technical skills that will be required for the projects' successful completion, and which might include some of the more experienced people deliberately teaching some of the less experienced, as well as bringing in outside training resources.
- Project topics which are of concern to the institution and which will affect favorably its future course.
- Adequate release time for the more junior people, and projects of long enough duration that the chance for learning and skill demonstration clearly exists, along with the chance for enlarged institutional knowledge and connections.

Such project teams, which create temporary operating structures parallel to the conventional institutional hierarchy, appear readily applicable to universities, since these institutions have a history of carrying out certain activities via colleague committees. What we are suggesting is adding a committee structure that guarantees inclusion of women, encourages sponsorship, and builds in explicit training opportunities. Such a strategy would also be eminently useful to the institution itself, since it would not only be receiving funding but would also have a chance to accomplish something that it views as in its own interest.

We would hope that such project teams—or other developmental activities within institutions themselves—would result not only in more skills for women, more recognition, visibility, and eligibility for other jobs in their home institution or elsewhere, but would also eventually serve to move them up the ladder. But of course, no one—not even prestigious training programs—can guarantee that anyone gets a job. In the long run, the prospects for women in educational administration will also be tied to labor market conditions. Also in the long run, then, it will benefit women if academic institutions are encouraged to remain strong and healthy. Funding efforts that benefit institutions as well as individual women are likely to have major payoffs.